

National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.

110 WEST 57TH STREET

NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

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April 10, 1953

Mr. Allen W. Dulles 2430 E Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Dulles:

It gives me pleasure to send you herewith the President's Report for the year 1952, covering the operations of the National Committee for a Free Europe.

As you know, 1952 was an important year for your Committee, and I take this opportunity to congratulate Admiral Miller on its accomplishments under his leadership.

As his successor, I assure you that your officers and staff will continue to strive to improve the effectiveness and quality of this vital undertaking.

I hope that I may have the pleasure of seeing you personally before too long a time goes by.

Sincerely yours,

Whitney H. Shepardson
President

Approved for Release Date_AliG__2000

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A FREE EUROPE, INC.
110 WEST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK 19, NEW YORK



NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A FREE EUROPE, INC. 110 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

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(As of December 31, 1952)

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A FREE EUROPE, INC.:

1952 has been an important year in this great struggle for the minds of men.

With the growth of Western strength and the awakening of all free men to the true nature of the Soviet conspiracy, there is evidence that the initiative in the cold war is increasingly passing into the hands of the free world.

1952 has seen a marked growth of the free world's power and determination to resist Soviet encroachment, and to take positive measures to stop it. In this same measure the work of NCFE became more meaningful, as faith in the earnest purpose of the free world grew among the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe both at home and abroad.

The year 1952 has also been a significant year of growth for the various activities of the National Committee for a Free Europe.

From its small but ambitious beginning in 1949, Radio Free Europe has grown to 20 transmitters in service at the end of 1952. Seven languages are now broadcast to six satellite countries in a daily program output of 218 hours. During the year the volume of incoming information about conditions in the captive countries grew to a daily rate of eight million words. Over four hundred publications from behind the Iron Curtain are received and analyzed daily. During 1952 exile students of the Free Europe University in Exile have more than doubled, to a total of 235.

This report covers the various branches of NCFE's many-sided activities, all of which bear witness to the energy with which your Committee has functioned.

The year 1952 has seen another phase in the development of the National Committee for a Free Europe. This is, perhaps, of greater importance than physical growth, though not so readily stated in measurable terms. It has been a year in which various branches of our activities were consolidated and integrated into a more smoothly functioning unit. It is only natural that rapid growth in a new organization is accompanied by some "growing pains." Although the various departments have from the beginning functioned well, major emphasis during the year 1952 was placed on coordination of the parts into a single more closely-knit team.

The quality of programs has been constantly revised and improved. We have new evidence from behind the Iron Curtain of the effectiveness of our operations: (a) the programs of Radio Free Europe are strik-

ing the target-country regimes with such effectiveness that the enemy feels it necessary to make systematic refutations through their controlled radio and press; (b) Radio Free Europe is constantly attacked in public statements by high officials of the satellite governments; (c) the fear of such broadcasts is so great that the Soviets have erected hundreds of jamming stations in an effort to keep the truth from reaching the enslaved peoples.

The work of the National Committee for a Free Europe is centered in six major divisions:

Division of Exile Relations (or National Councils Division)
Radio Free Europe
Division of Intellectual Cooperation
Research and Publications Service
Crusade for Freedom, Inc. (a separate corporation)
General Administration
These divisions are described in detail in the following pages.

RADIO FREE EUROPE

R ADIO Free Europe continued to expand its technical facilities during 1952. Even greater emphasis, however, was placed on improving the collection and evaluation of information, program techniques, and the preparation of longer term campaign plans and guidances, in order to maintain RFE's established position in the captive countries in the face of increasing Sovietization. Information collection and evaluation received major emphasis. Skilled correspondents were employed. New methods of interrogation produced ample and accurate material for a vastly increased program schedule. Improvements in monitoring satellite radio stations and in using this material were made to heighten the effects of Radio Free Europe programs.

In the past year the Planning Section has devoted considerable efforts to integrate further the policies for Radio Free Europe broadcasts. Daily Guidances have been expanded into comprehensive analyses of developments behind the Iron Curtain, which provide a more accurate interpretation of these events in the light of Radio Free Europe objectives. A review of broadcast scripts covers the expanded Munich output and assists in checking on the psychological warfare content of broadcasts. Moreover, it provides a basis for planning improved techniques. The Planning Section has continued its efforts to determine points of vulnerability in the target areas, and has prepared special guidances and campaigns to exploit the weaknesses exposed by the enemy. It also continues its study of fundamental psychological problems relating to our

Radio Free Europe ended the year 1951 with a total broadcasting time of 68 hours per day. This had increased by December 31, 1952 to 218 hours daily. The increased hours of programming to these countries, however, does not alone tell the full story. During the year 1952, RFE added one transmitter to Czechoslovakia, two to Hungary, four to Poland, and two for programming to Romania, Bulgaria and Albania. In addition, the number of relay transmitters was increased from two to six.

target area.

The importance of our operation in Portugal increased greatly during 1952. In addition to the one transmitter erected near Lisbon in 1951, seven more 50 Kw short-wave transmitters were put into operation at this location during the past year.

CHRONOLOGICAL REPORT OF RFE TECHNICAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

-50 Kw SW Transmitter No. 2 on air January 14 in Lisbon. January -Wings 3 and 4 of Studio Building completed in Munich. February 50 Kw SW Transmitter No. 3 on air February 4 in Lisbon. 50 Kw SW Transmitter No. 4 on air February 27 in Lisbon. -Master Control installation completed in the Munich April studios. -Portugal Housing Project completed. July -Wings 5 and 6 of Studio Building completed in Munich, August making a total of 70,000 square feet of office and studio and floor space. Complete automatic telephone exchange and switchboard facilities for expanded building in operation. -Portugal Antenna System completed and tuned Sep-September tember 1. -Completion of 4 Studios and 2 Control Rooms in Munich November Studio Building, making a total of 22 Studios and 16 Control Rooms, plus Master Control in operation. November 11 -- Monument commemorating NCFE-Portuguese cooperation dedicated. 50 Kw SW Transmitters No. 5 and 6 in Lisbon. Installation completed and on air. -Four additional relay transmitters installed in Holzkirchen, December bringing total of relay transmitters to six. In Lisbon-50 Kw SW Transmitter No. 7. Installation completed and on air December 20. 50 Kw SW Transmitter No. 8. Installation completed and on air December 25.

DIVISION OF EXILE RELATIONS

DURING the past year the Division of Exile Relations has continued to encourage the formation of constructive and forward-looking leadership among citizens of the Central and Eastern European countries now in exile in the free world. The Division facilitated the activity of exile groups of a political nature, advising, consulting with, and assisting these groups so that their work might be useful in accomplishing the goals of the National Committee for a Free Europe.

The Division continued to work with the established national organizations of exiles, as well as with those international groups whose activity contributes to the establishment of future understanding among the Central and Eastern European peoples. The termination of the work of the International Refugee Organization and the resultant growing feeling of abandonment on the part of the refugees was recognized. A survey was made of refugee assistance work being performed in Europe by exile organizations with which the Division is in contact. As a result a plan was adopted to develop on a national basis self-help projects directed toward the maintenance and raising of morale among the broad masses of Iron Curtain refugees in Europe. This program was worked out in coordination with all private and public agencies interested in the refugee problem and is designed to fulfill a function not at present performed by any other agency or authority in this field.

Similarly, the need for developing leadership among the younger potential leaders in exile was recognized by the Division. After a study of the situation of the Trade Union Movement in Exile, after consultation with experienced American academic authorities, the Division developed a leadership training program to acquaint potential exile trade union leaders with the developments of the Western and, particularly, the American Trade Union Movement.

Two public events involving political exiles from Iron Curtain countries were of more than routine interest and importance in the development of the political warfare offensive against Eastern Europe. In January, 1952, the Central and Eastern European Conference of the European Movement was held in London. The Division of Exile Relations collaborated with the organizers of the Conference, and assisted in the transportation of exile leaders from the United States. The Conference, in which leading Western European statesmen took part in an unofficial capacity, resulted in a resolution stating that "no arrangement between the Western powers and the Soviet Union can lead to a true and lasting

peace which accepts the continued enslavement of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe." This powerful message of hope for a better world was carried to the enslaved countries through Radio Free Europe and brought forth angry protests from the satellite regimes.

On the anniversary of the signing of the Virginia Bill of Rights, June 12, 1952, leaders from Central and Eastern Europe gathered at Williamsburg, Virginia. They stated that the people of Central and Eastern Europe, once free, would join in the formation of a United States of Europe. They further pledged "to ensure that, once these (human) rights and principles are embodied in the new constitutions of our peoples, they shall be safeguarded and respected, for the common good of European civilization, and for the cultural heritage of mankind."

With the assistance of this Division, the exile national and international organizations were more and more able to bring the problems of their countries to the attention of the free world. Demonstrations, conferences, and congresses were held commemorating patriotic festivals or important historical events such as the fifth anniversary of the hanging of the Bulgarian martyr, Nikola Petkov; the commemoration of the crowning of St. Stephen in Hungary nearly ten centuries ago; and the Independence Day of the off-invaded and courageous Albanian nation.

A number of the exile committees presented important testimony to the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor concerning the violation of human rights in their countries. After preliminary hearings in New York, these committees were summoned to Geneva to present further vital testimony in the cause of freedom. Thus, the inhuman mass deportation of people from Hungary and Romania, as well as the crimes of genocide committed against the peoples of the Baltic States, were exposed to the eyes of the world.

Throughout the year the Division of Exile Relations has continued its efforts, by deepening its personal contacts and understanding of the people and their problems, to establish and maintain harmony within the exile world. It has striven to strengthen the solidarity between the enslaved nations and the West, and to develop mutual trust and confidence between the free world and those who have fled from Communist tyranny in order to carry on their fight abroad.

DIVISION OF INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

THE Mid-European Studies Center conducts two important projects in cooperation with the Library of Congress in Washington, in addition to its basic work carried on in New York. In the course of the year, both from the standpoint of physical space and that of operations, this division was completely reorganized and its staff problems satisfactorily solved.

The two projects shared with the Library of Congress are (a) the Mid-European Law Project and (b) the East European Accessions List. Basically these projects are fundamental research. In the case of the Accessions List, the NCFE Research and Publications Department has available to it within forty-eight hours the huge volume of printed material which regularly flows into the Library of Congress from a wide variety of sources behind the Iron Curtain.

Research visitors to the Mid-European Studies Center have increased to such an extent that the space available is now proving inadequate.

MÉSC also conducts the following projects: (a) East European Inquiry (formerly the Danubian Inquiry); (b) Textbook Project; (c) American Education Program; and (d) Young Exile Scholarship Program.

One aspect of the reorganization of MESC has been the separation of those exiles qualified to do research from those who, in the past, were afforded financial support for political or other reasons with no return to the Committee.

Another feature of the reorganization of the Inquiry is the centralization of policy planning in a special group headed by Professor James T. Shotwell. With him are: Dr. Adolf A. Berle, Jr., Dr. Arnold J. Zurcher of the Sloan Foundation, Dr. Cyril Black of Princeton University, Dr. Philip Mosely and Dr. Hans Neumann of the Russian Institute at Columbia University, Dr. Arnold Wolfers of Yale University, Dr. Feliks Gross of New York University, Mr. Frederic R. Dolbeare and Dr. Levering Tyson of the National Committee for a Free Europe.

This group provides for a logical organization of inquiry, as well as assembling a group of men who are thoroughly familiar with up-to-the-minute developments in that region which might lead toward federation. This Board reviews progress made on work it has set up for the Inquiry and recommends personnel qualified to carry out the various units of the over-all program.

Many organizations already have utilized the product of the Inquiry.

In view of the valuable results the Inquiry has produced and the evidence of its practical usefulness, the Policy Board is considering to what extent the Inquiry should set its sights on attaining federation for Eastern Europe and what part federation of this area might play in European unity.

When the Allies moved in on collapsed Germany they found no text-books available except those that the Nazis had imposed on the German schools. The representatives of the West were faced immediately with the stupendous task of providing accurate and objective academic materials. To avoid a similar situation upon liberation of the satellite nations, the Mid-European Studies Center has undertaken (a) to accumulate as many pre-totalitarian texts as can be secured so that duplicates may be supplied in an emergency, and (b) to prepare other and up-to-date volumes that can be made available to the liberated area when the time comes.

It is well known to all connected with NCFE that one of the important, if not the most important targets in the over-all Kremlin program is the mind of youth. It seems entirely logical that at least some counterbalance is an intelligent item in the program of the National Committee. We have approached this challenge in two ways.

On this side of the Atlantic we have sought out young exile scholars resident in this country whose intellectual attainments were of such caliber that the Committee could assist in their education. In the first year, fifteen of these young scholars were on our rolls. The large numbers and high quality of the applicants for support led to an increase to forty students the following year. The 1952 program enrolled approximately 90 students.

During the Christmas holiday season a convention of these exiled scholars was held in New York City for the purpose of discussing federation. The assembly was divided into nine committees which discussed such topics as: foreign policy, armed forces, taxation, development of economic resources, use of industrial capacity, agricultural production and distribution, foreign trade, cultural and political minorities, and civil rights.

In Strasbourg, France, more than two hundred young exiles from the captive countries have been assembled at the Free Europe University in Exile. For each of these, the Committee provides housing, subsistence, and an allowance for clothing and incidentals. On the educational side, the Committee provides instruction in the regular departments of the University of Strasbourg as well as instruction in what is known as the East European Seminar. This class is designed to perpetuate in the minds of these young people the traditions and history of their native lands. This part of the program is conducted by exile teachers.

Successes and failures have been recorded in the operation of FEUE. It has been demonstrated that young people from all the ten satellite countries can live together in amity and accord. In itself this is a considerable achievement. Problems can be listed in such areas as: lack of interpretation of the East European mind (understandable on the part of American administrators); need for a well-defined program for a seminar to cover the whole area of Eastern Europe; and not enough appreciation of the difficulty of operating on French territory with its rigid Gallic academic traditions. Moreover, with the actual center of authority, administrative and otherwise, four thousand miles from the scene of operations, problems arise. There is little doubt that all these conditions can be ameliorated sufficiently quickly to enable the University to fulfill the objectives envisioned for it.

One of the chief divisional concerns is to make sure that its products will be useful to the National Committee, to research organizations both public and private, and to universities and colleges. Its value rests mainly in two areas: first, the usefulness which it can now contribute in carrying on the fight against the Kremlin; and second, the contributions that it can make in maintaining the cultures of the captive countries while they are under totalitarian domination.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS SERVICE

THE Committee's Research and Publications Service was given the function of assembling, analyzing and distributing in useful form all available information about the target area. To this end, ten research desks, composed of exiles from each of the satellite states, work in conjunction with an American editorial staff.

During 1952, the Research and Publication Service has maintained a continuing rate of expansion of its information services to Radio Free Europe programming, planning, and policy. This expansion is reflected in its information publications, its reference activities, special reports, and a closer working relationship with radio desks.

The Division also expanded its sources of information to the point where an average of slightly over eight million words per day are received in one form or another from the captive area. Obviously, a very small fraction of this total can be put to practical use since most of it consists of repetitious propaganda. But, by piecing together items from the 452 newspapers and periodicals analyzed daily, with refugee reports, or monitored broadcasts, a fragment of information can be evaluated and integrated into the over-all pattern of knowledge about the target area. There are still considerable leaks in the Iron Curtain, for the regime is unable to reach its subjects by press or radio without also reaching NCFE.

An important additional source of information was tapped during the year through the reorganization of the Division's Washington staff. Located in the Library of Congress, this office has immediate access to some 18,000 books and publications received by the East European Accessions List from the Soviet area each year. The staff selects those pages which contain significant information, microfilms them in duplicate, sends one copy to Munich and the other to the New York desks. Through the facilities thus made available by the Library, it has been possible for the Committee to procure rapidly valuable information unobtainable from any other source. During four months of operation, 4650 microfilms were processed for use.

The information accumulated from all these sources is used both within the Committee, primarily by RFE, and in publications distributed outside. The former action takes the form of daily contacts between the RFE and RPS exile desks. These meetings are supplemented by special reports and studies on topics relevant to current radio campaigns. Of paramount value to the program desks are the RPS files, which contain an estimated 250,000 items on virtually all aspects of the Communist "occupation."

Besides the regular information and research functions of the Division, editing and printing of Committee publications, such as "Weapon in the Struggle for Freedom" and two volumes of "The Black Book—Communist Attacks Against NCFE" were produced.

During the year the Division started a coordinated Iron Curtain News

Program based upon three categories of activity.

I. News From Behind the Iron Curtain and other research publications. In January 1952 the first issue of the Committee's English-language monthly magazine was made available to representatives of the press and other media, to universities, churches, libraries and research centers interested in learning more about "Communism in practice." By the end of the year the magazine's circulation had grown to 10,000 copies which were distributed to 38 nations in the free world. In addition, 57 research studies were distributed to specialists on Central and Eastern Europe.

2. Press and media contacts. As the Committee's activities have become more widely known, the requests from newspapers, radio and television stations for information about the target area has increased measurably. Material illustrating the plight of the captive peoples has been supplied by this Division on a regular basis to all the major networks and many hundreds of the leading newspapers. During the Slansky Trial, for instance, the influx of requests for information made it necessary to operate on a round-the-clock basis over weekends. In addition, special services are provided groups such as the labor and religious press. For example, a weekly column describing labor conditions in the captive countries is carried by 150 trade union publications with a combined circulation of 10 million.

3. National language bulletins. To provide exile groups and the emigre press with accurate information about conditions in their homelands, 11 magazines in each of the languages of the captive countries are distributed monthly. These bulletins provide the only source of accurate information about their homelands available to exile groups in 52 countries in the free world.

Finally, two intangible but important results of the past year's work may be noted. First, close working cooperation between the Division's American staff and the national editorial desks became a genuine reality. Second, to an increasing extent matters pertaining to the Soviet area were analyzed and interpreted not on a strictly national basis but from the viewpoint of the enslaved area as a whole.

1952 CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM REPORT

DURING 1952, the Crusade for Freedom carried forward the fundraising and publicity program of the two previous years. The nationwide acceptance of the Crusade was extremely satisfactory considering national interest in other topics such as the election.

Due to the national election, the Crusade campaign opened later than usual on November II. It opened with a four-network broadcast in which President-elect Dwight D. Eisenhower and Governor Adlai Stevenson participated. The majority of the states opened their Crusade fundraising campaigns at that time, although approximately twenty states delayed their drives to avoid conflicting with local charity or other drives.

The 1952 Crusade campaign was keyed to a new idea—the Freedom-gram. This message of hope to people behind the Iron Curtain was designed to be broadcast to the captive nations by Radio Free Europe. The desire of the American people to bring moral and spiritual help to their fellowmen behind the Iron Curtain was underestimated and, as this report is written, nearly 20,000,000 Freedomgrams have been printed and distributed, on request, throughout the nation. Many cities established Freedomgram Centers as focal points in their local drives.

New highs were achieved in press, feature services, radio and television. The Crusade provided state committees with a press book which met with wide acceptance. This was supplemented by nearly 100 stories designed to be used on the state or local level. Without the splendid cooperation from newspapers, magazines, radio and television, and the Advertising Council, such thorough publicity would not have been possible. Our profound gratitude to them is hereby acknowledged.

Emphasis was placed upon nationally syndicated feature services. Feature stories and pictures were distributed over a seventeen-week period.

Major networks generously provided spot announcements, special programs and guest appearances for Crusade, both national and local. A survey of their frequency indicates that radio stations broadcast an average of 25 Crusade spot announcements each week during the drive.

National headquarters serviced requests for the ten-minute film "1952 Crusade Report" by rotating 125 prints throughout the country. Another 125 were sent to television stations where they were widely used.

Approximately 25 exiles and 25 nationally-known leaders and Crusade officials participated in special events and public meetings in nearly every state. Appearances arranged through the Speaker's Bureau were heavily concentrated upon metropolitan areas.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

N MARCH 1, 1952, Mr. C. D. Jackson resigned from the Presidency, an office he held during the year he was on leave of absence from Fortune. He was elected Vice-Chairman of the Board of Directors to succeed Mr. DeWitt C. Poole, who resigned from that office on March 31, 1952. Mr. Jackson was succeeded as President by the writer of this report.

Minutes recording the appreciation of the Board for Mr. Poole's long and devoted service were embossed on a scroll which was presented to Mr. Poole. In the death of Mr. Poole on September 3, 1952, the Committee lost one of its founders, a loyal friend, and a tireless worker. Minutes recording the Board's sense of loss were adopted on September 4, 1952 and sent to Mrs. Poole with an expression of the Board's sympathy.

Other changes in officers and directors were as follows:

Mr. Spencer Phenix, a Vice-President of the Committee, who had been serving as Acting Treasurer, was elected Treasurer. Mr. Frank Altschul resigned from the Board of Directors in January. On February 21 the Board of Directors was enlarged to fifteen and the then existing vacancies were filled by the election of Messrs. Julius Fleischmann, George N. Shuster, Howard M. Chapin, Charles M. Spofford, and Charles S. Zimmerman. Mr. Zimmerman resigned in October.

In addition to the foregoing changes the Committee lost two members by death during the year, Robert P. Patterson and William Green, and two by resignation, Reuben B. Robertson and Matthew Woll. New members elected were Messrs. Charles E. Wilson and Henry Ford II.

The Committee's new offices at 110 West 57th Street have proved adequate for its requirements during the year under review. There has been no significant change in the number of administrative employees.

Personnel operations during the year emphasized the development of improved selection processes with greater emphasis on basic qualifications, skills and experience. A personnel specialist was appointed Assistant Director with specific responsibility for recruitment, and he has been able to accelerate procurement of individuals with specialized skills for the various divisions of the Committee. Improvement in the office management area resulted from the addition of an experienced Office Manager and a complementary staff.

A survey of salary structure was carried out and necessary adjustments made with a view to standardization of job classifications and salary rates.

Rate review methods were adopted for merit increases and principles guiding promotion and transfers were established.

In the area of employee benefits, a vacation plan was adopted on January 1, 1952, special features of which provide for home leave of overseas employees, and maternity leave. Group life insurance with \$1,000 benefits was extended to cover all employees. Likewise a group hospitalization, surgical and medical insurance plan was adopted. In view of the extensive travel involved in the Committee's work, travel accident insurance, supplemented by theft insurance, has been provided for all employees who travel on Committee business.

Recognizing the many difficulties experienced by exile employees in immigration matters, a counselling service to aid them was set up. Overseas employees holding quota visas which require them to come to New York for immigration processing are now returned promptly, usually within ten days, to their stations, at extensive savings in costs and program time.

CONCLUSION

A CCOMPLISHMENTS such as those described in this report can be brought about only through the inspired efforts of dedicated people. Space does not permit naming even a small fraction of those whose work has made this organization possible. In closing, however, I want to record personal and official thanks to the following groups and individuals:

- To every man, woman and child among the 25 million who have given moral or financial support to the Crusade for Freedom; to those who signed the Freedom Scrolls or Freedomgrams.
- To every volunteer worker for the Crusade for Freedom throughout the length and breadth of the United States of America.
- To every church, every school, every labor union, every service organization or club, whose members have given us backing, official or unofficial.
- To all of those in the great profession of communicating ideas the columnists, the feature writers, the cartoonists, the editors, the owners of newspapers; to the great radio chains and the men operating small stations; to the commentators, the announcers, and those who write or produce radio and television shows; to the great public figures and the bit actors, the property men and others in radio and television who are responsible for the immense backing given to the Crusade for Freedom.
- To those foundations and corporations which have generously given funds to support the work of this Committee. Particular mention should be made of those who have donated, with the help of the Advertising Council, radio time or newspaper space dedicated to the Crusade for Freedom.
- To our many friends in universities, foundations, and other organizations whose research and advice have given us guidance.
- To the many friendly people who have given us moral support or valuable information.
- To the exiles from the enslaved countries, whose inspiration and first-hand knowledge of the Iron Curtain countries have been among our greatest assets.
- To all of those dedicated employees in each branch of activity of the National Committee for a Free Europe.
- To the heroic people behind the Iron Curtain who listen to Radio Free Europe—whose spirit is unconquerable.

Free people are generous people.

With thanks to all of these and with confidence that 1953 will be a year of still further growth and increasing contributions to this great cause.

Respectfully submitted,

President